1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

If the palolo is taken to the country villages a day or two after the catch the country folk say, "It is the palolo of an after-thought," because not knowing whither to take their surplus, the Tumbou people have at last thought of some one on whom to get rid of it; it is therefore a mean dodge to get a feast in return. The phrase has passed into a proverb.

The people of Tumbou proper and of Levuka sometimes bring palolo to the nobles who take it out of the baskets and fill them full of taro and other food.

Formerly palolo was the occasion of a great festival: people put on new loin cloths and skirts. Then there was much palolo; there is not much now.

There is not much fish at the approach of the palolo. The old folk used to say, "The palolo covers the eyes of the fish."

Various villages have some fish or other that swarms at certain seasons and is "bagged" or otherwise caught, and which they call their palolo. The "palolo" of Nukunuku is the *nungga;* of Wathiwathi, the *lairo* crab. In Nasangalau sharks are bagged in the Palolo months. For one month before that it is forbidden to kill sharks. A woman of the clan of Ndreketi knows all about them. She keeps watch as the month of palolo approaches; if she sees signs she calls all the people; then they all go forth with big meshed nets, and sit on the rocks and watch the passage. As the tide begins to flow the sharks come. One or two lie about; as the tide rises their numbers increase. The people prepare to bag them. The woman of Ndreketi stands on a rock. The sharks line up, forty odd big sharks. The net is let down to close the passage; those who are to bag the sharks are to the seaward of them. The woman cries, "To land, to land, that the strangers may see." The sharks come in a bit. "Up with the fin that the strangers may see." The fin is raised. "Let down the fin; the strangers are afraid." The fin disappears. "They are moving towards the land; my calling is finished."

The fish is then bagged. The woman can even cause the fish to get stranded.

In 1909 it did not take place because some one had speared a shark prematurely. These sharks are black and not like other sharks; the taste is not the same. Formerly there was a chief of the sharks, a small white shark. One shark is always taken to Roko Sau.

The *nungga* is bagged in December and in January. It is caught at morning ebb (*mati ruku*) just as the tide is beginning to flow. The *nungga* then follow up the channels towards the land in great quantities and are caught with ordinary nets. The first time it has all to be eaten in Nukunuku; it cannot be taken to another village or it will disappear for good; if a nobleman of Tumbou wants to eat he must come to Nukunuku. The second time it is different. It is supposed it has something to do with spirits (*ka vakatevoro no*).

Turtle Fishing

Turtle is not uncommon. There is a small kind called *mata iri* (fan face) which is like the herald, or retinue of the big turtles. It goes in front of a big turtle: it comes close to the land while the big one is further out at sea. If any one comes near, the small one starts and the big one flies. The following account has been received:

In former days no turtle was cooked outside Tumbou; all that was caught from Ono to Thithia had to come to Tumbou, to Tui Naiau who had it cooked, and sent some of it to whomsoever he pleased. It was strictly forbidden for anyone to eat turtle unless Tui Naiau "gave him the turtle knife." The privilege of eating turtle at will was granted by Roko Taliai to Tione Wesile and his descendants on account of his prowess in destroying the Naivi faction. If Tione Wesile caught only one turtle he would bring it to Tui Naiau; if several he could keep the rest for himself; but if

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Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauvau mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: "*Vonu e tapate.*" The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevusevu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i vharu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo ringgai*).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

TURTLE FISHING

The sea turtle (*vonu*) is a chiefly animal in Lau, and is protected by special rules. Permission to fish for turtles must be granted by the master fisherman of the chiefs' phratry. Most of the turtle fishing (*vothevothe*, to paddle) in southern Lau is done by members of the chiefs' phratry on Kambara. The master fisherman describes the day and place of the hunt, and at the appointed hour the whole community streams to the beach. 225

Men and women (mainly young girls) board the canoes. The master fisherman paddles out near the reef and the boats line up, with the two canoes on the wings about 50 meters ahead. "Vola", the master fisherman cries, lifts his paddle, and all boats paddle forward. If a turtle is seen in the water the person who detects it calls excitedly, "Vonu, vonu!" and points toward a dark spot moving ahead. The fishermen paddle quickly with all their strength to catch up with the turtle. Frequently it escapes, but sometimes after a chase of several minutes it pauses at the bottom of the lagoon. A young man dives down behind the turtle, grasps it under the plate nearest the neck with his hand, and with his foot against the back of the animal, turns it over, shoving it to the surface upside down. The people on the canoe haul it aboard and place it on its back. The same method is used on a dark night, when the moving turtle causes a phosphorescent light. The conch shell is blown on the return of the canoes from a successful turtle hunt.

Turtle breeding is described on pages 141-142.

Turtles bred in the lake on Wangava are caught by means of a turtle net. The only net in southern Lau belongs to Mothe but it has been borrowed by the people of Kambara, who use it on the Wangava lake. I witnessed a netting day there. The net was hanging over a rod set on two forked stakes near the lake. Before it was taken down, dry leaves were gathered and lit to windward so that the smoke might blow through it and purify it on the chance that a pregnant woman had touched it. "But no one lives here", I said. "Just the same some women are *tha* (bad)", was the answer.

The net was placed on a canoe and taken on the lake. Floats of *vutu* (*Barringtonia*) nuts kept the upper length of the net on the surface of the water, while weights of stone held the lower length of the net on the lake bottom. The net was put out at eleven in the morning and at four o'clock in the afternoon one turtle had been caught. The next morning two turtles were netted and on the third day two more. They weighed from 90 to 175 pounds. The animals were taken to Kambara. One soon to be eaten, was taken to the village of Nggalinggali where it was kept on its back. The others were placed inside a turtle fence in the lagoon. [824]

POISONOUS FISH

The natives claim that the fish in the section of the Kambara lagoon stretching for about 200 meters along the northwest shore of Tokalau have been poisonous since the hurricane in 1929. They say that three people in one clan died from eating fish caught there. They do not know why the fish from this 825

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle products formerly provided the staple food. According to informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

13 39. BUKUTOLU ISLETS are three in number, composed of sand and coral reef, and situated about 4 miles westward of Yathata.

The eastern islet is the largest, eliptical in outline, about 350 yards N.& S. by 250 to 300 yards wide, and covered with littoral trees and cocoanut palms, 100 feet to the top of the vegetation. It is surrounded by a fringing reef, reaching about 1/4 mile off shore.

The middle islet is somewhat smaller and lower, being about 80 feet to the top of the vegetation, with a few cocoanut palms on the S.W. side. The trees are here reduced to stunted scrub. The fringing reef lies about 1/4 mile offshore on the N.w., and closer on the east. On the south it makes a sharp elbow and extends westward to the western islet in a narrow arm. There is a small rock at the elbow.

The western islet is the smallest, not over 40 or 50 feet high to the top of the bushes. It has a small flat, with an open covering of scrub and vines. To the south, a rocky shelf extends above water for about 100 yards.

Le found fair anchorage on a shelf in the cove, west of the middle islet. The islets are uninhabited, but are occasionally visited by the natives of Yathata for cocoanuts and turtle.

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[p.86]